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*The Duty of supporting and defending
our Country and Constitution :*

A D I S C O U R S E,

Preached at MIDDLEHAM, in the County of YORK,

FEBRUARY 10, 1793,

On the Prospect of a WAR.

WITH A PREFACE, ON THE PRINCIPLES OF

FRENCH CIVISM.

By R. B. NICKOLLS, L.L.B. 1778
Queen's Coll. Oxford
DEAN OF MIDDLEHAM.

Y O R K :

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and their WIDOWS.**

DEDICATION.

*To the Gentlemen, Clergymen, Freeholders
of Middleham, Leyburne, Askrigg, and
Hawes, and other Loyal Inhabitants of
Wensleydale ;*

SIRS,

THE following discourse is dedicated to you from a respectful sense of the Patriotic and Loyal Principles which produced your late resolves ; resolves which, I am persuaded, men of your firm and independent minds will carry into effect with the same spirit and alacrity, with which they were conceived : and every day evinces, more and more, the necessity of the most determined measures in support of our Constitution and National Independence.

It has been alledged, Sirs, that the present war is, on our part, an infraction of the Law of Nations.

There

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There is no mystery, Sirs, in the Law of Nations; though there is a sort of imposing eloquence that would make us think so*: it is but the extension of the Law of Nature, that is, of Reason and Equity, from individuals to national bodies: and the Law of Nature cannot be abrogated or dispensed with, by any human power, compact, or interpretation. That law, Sirs, forbids Nations to excite Rebellions and Commotions, in Countries with which they are at peace: it forbids the holding out principles and entering upon measures subversive of the peace, order, and liberty of other independent nations; principles and measures which cannot, from their intrinsic nature, be adopted without Universal Anarchy and consequent Tyranny. Such were the measures France was pursuing in this Country, when war became necessary to our very existence. France, therefore, and not Britain, hath violated the Law of Nations. “The learned are taught
“by Reason, barbarous nations by Necessity,
“the civil by Custom, the very beasts also by
“Nature, to defend themselves from injury
“by all means. For God hath no where for-
“bidden self-defence: we may put on armour
“to defend us against an armed malice: he
“hath, indeed, forbidden private Revenges,
“because those are intrusted to the laws and

* Tumidas intendit rumpere buccas.—PERS.

“public

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“ public persons ;—but when public interests
“ are violated, when Kingdoms and Commu-
“ nities of Men are injured, there is no law
“ to defend them, and therefore it must be
“ force ; for force is the defenfative of all
“ laws : and when laws are injured, there can
“ be no way to reduce men to reason, but by
“ making them feel the effects of unreason-
“ ableness. If this were not so, then all Com-
“ munities were in a worse state of affairs
“ than single persons : for Princes are to secure
“ each single person ; and the laws are to se-
“ cure them : but if the laws themselves be
“ not defended no single person can be.
“ Whatsoever is absolutely necessary, is cer-
“ tainly lawful :—And since there is a right
“ of nature which no law of God hath re-
“ strained ;—therefore if they (Princes and
“ their people) be not safe from injury, *it is*
“ *their own fault*, or their unhappiness :—The
“ ‘ Jus naturæ,’ the rights, liberties, the equali-
“ ties, and privileges of nature, are the warrant
“ of the defence :—And, as in private conten-
“ tions and repetitions of our right, *we are to*
“ *look after justice* ; so it is with Princes, he that
“ is injured may drive away the injury.”

These, Sirs, are the doctrines of the best
writers upon Laws antient and modern : wri-
ters whose authority, (especially one of them)
is of great weight in important causes.—
(Cicero ;

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(Cicero ; Taylor Ductor Dubitantium, Book 2.
Chap. 2.)

It hath also been said, that, whatever enormities were committed in France, *we* had no right to interfere.—I confess, upon the principles of the law of Nature, I do not think so. The celebrated sentiment of an ancient Writer *, “I am a man and have an interest in “the concerns of humanity,” will apply, if there be any justice in it, as well to National bodies as to individuals. Where the laws of nature are violated with circumstances of gross enormity by any nation, I think justice and humanity (as in the case of the Slave-Trade) demand the interference of surrounding powers, to repress what is contrary to the law of nature, and to relieve the innocent and oppressed. This was the principle so much admired in the ages of Heroism, because its foundation is justice and benevolence inspiring courage, for the relief of evils that have no remedy from laws. For justice and benevolence, are the conservators of civil societies, and of the human species itself, the subject of all law.

In the last century the interference of the great and good Gustavus, preserved the Reli-

* Homo Sum, et humani nihil à me alienum puto.—TERENCE.
gion

DEDICATION.

gion and liberties of the Protestant States of Germany from annihilation, by the House of Austria. And it is to be lamented that the extinction of Polish Liberty, that was born without a stain, leaves that people still injured and oppressed, by those who have not a shadow of right to divide and conquer them.

In the case of the Munster * Anabaptists of the 16th Century, who had been guilty of a monstrous and incredible violation of all laws human and divine, which filled all men with horror, we find that Luther, called loudly on the German States to put a stop to their phrenzy; and the Princes in Germany did in consequence rise in arms, and destroy the Tyranny that introduced these horrors.

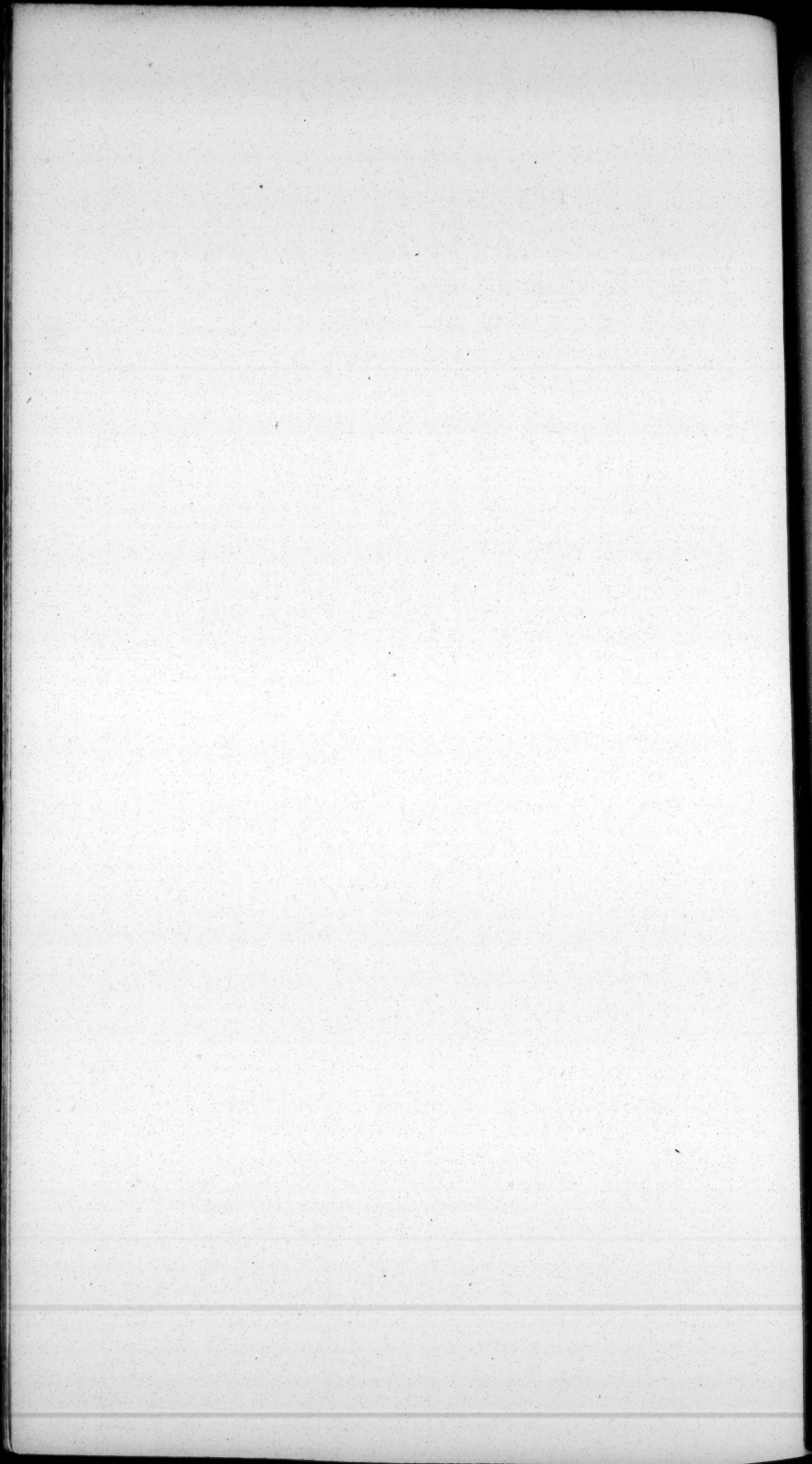
Soon, Sirs, may Divine Providence disperse the clouds that hang over us, and again speak Peace to his people of these realms.

I have the honour to be,
With great respect,

SIRS,

Your most obedient and humble servant,
ROBERT BOUCHER NICKOLLS.

* It has been alledged in some late debates (Woodfall's Diary, February 22.) "that force does not cure delusion."—We must not therefore arm to prevent the French from coming over to cut our throats and turn our Parliament into a Convention, because "force does not cure delusion."—But the *fact* of the Munster Anabaptists above related, is a direct confutation of the position, and shews how salutary a little force justly employed now and then may be.—Vide Robertson's Charles V.



P R E F A C E.

THE present situation of public affairs in this country, calls aloud for the exertion of all its friends, "in their vocation and ministry", how inconsiderable soever the value of that exertion may be. Under this impression, the Preacher of the following discourse, after several others of a similar tendency, thought it necessary, upon the prospect of a war, to support and defend that Constitution under which we *feel* that we live free. The discourse was not designed for the learned, and is addressed to the bulk of common readers. Of such therefore I beg leave to ask, whether they would exchange the religion and government of this country, for that condition of things which now has place in France; and whether they would wade through the crimes and miseries, which that unhappy Country has been involved in, for several years past, to take the *chance* of a better government than our own? I say, to take the *chance*; since it is not possible, for the

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warmest

warmest friends of the French Revolution, to be *certain* that country *will* settle into a better : it *may be* a much worse ; (supposing our own to be a bad one) and the probability is *that it will* : because their constitution, so to call it, is not poised and balanced by different parts, like our own ; nay, like the whole system of nature itself ; but it all runs out into one great excrescence : and absolute power will probably be engrossed by some active hand, or junto ; because the Convention is too large and unweildy a body for those various exertions of which their affairs will have ample need. We may look back to the last Century in this Country, and see how power shifted hands, and the Republic ended in a Dictatorship.—For the beginning of strife is as when one letteth out water : no one can tell where it will end. No one can say what civil wars or divisions will arise amongst themselves, and what sufferings, probably very great ones, they have further to experience. When Brutus and the Conspirators destroyed Cæsar, Brutus did not apprehend he should meet an enemy at Philippi : he and his party thought, by destroying the Tyrant, to restore liberty : but the Tyrant's death raised destructive civil wars, things took an unexpected turn, and the chains of their country were rivetted faster than they might otherwise have been, through the natural

ral jealousy of the succeeding Princes. Rome was not sufficiently virtuous to receive or enjoy liberty, she demanded a Master, and the Empire and Legions required a head. Cæsar himself used to observe, with great truth, (*Suetonius* c. 88.) that the preservation of his life was a concern as much interesting to the public as himself; for, should any thing happen to himself, the state would be in a much worse condition from civil wars, than it had hitherto experienced. The event justified his prediction. And, for ages after, the competitions for the Purple, produced so many miseries, upon every vacancy, that the wisdom of modern times has shewn itself in providing for an uninterrupted hereditary succession. And wisdom it will be, 'till the love of power shall be eradicated from the heart of man; and 'till the majority of Electors to Magistracy shall be able to choose wisely, and disinterested enough to choose virtuously.

Again, I desire to ask, would it not be prudent to wait a little, and see the effect of French principles before we adopt them? see what may be the result of the Combination of so many different powers against them? For principles must be judged of by their effects, if we mean to reduce them to practice: and *it may be something* towards their success,

that they be not such as naturally produce opposition from other quarters.

Did the French themselves foresee that liberty and equality would cost them so dear, and that after numberless confiscations, every person should be obliged to give an account on oath of his property, in order to be taxed up to it? or that a greater number of troops by almost one half or a third should be necessary to maintain their republic, than by an arbitrary monarch were required for domestic despotism and foreign conquest?

Did the people foresee, when they were declared the † SOVEREIGN PEOPLE, that the National Convention would *deny* them a vote upon the fate of their King? And if their consent was not asked in so new and important an *instance*, may it not be equally disregarded on other occasions, that may nearly affect their most substantial interests? When the law respecting condemnation, was violated upon the first trial, in the person of their *King*, what security have the *Sovereign* people that it will

† To shew how Tyranny and equality can go together, we find that Julius Cæsar introduced into the Roman Senate a parcel of Sans Culottes from France:

“ Gallos Cæsar in triumphum ducit, iidem in curia,

“ Galli braccas deposuerunt, latum clavum sumserunt.”

Suet. 80.

It is remarkable also how the support of the French Sans Culottes in other assemblies has debased the abilities of the Orators.

never

never be violated when any of *their* lives are at stake? The SOVEREIGN people have forged their own chains already, and they will be galled by a severe tyranny when they cannot help themselves.

But let us ask; are the French really the friends of * liberty and *equality*? How is it they have done nothing with respect to the slave-trade, not even so much as several monarchies? But why will they hold any in slavery? Why have they not planted the tree of liberty, where there is so much need of it, in Morocco (they had a fleet in the Mediterranean) or in Turkey? Why have they created a Bastille at Antwerp? Why levy millions where they went to plant the tree of liberty?

* In their conduct respecting the Emigrants they have grossly violated the first of their principles: because, when the Monarchy was destroyed, they who had been attached to it, and who did not chuse to enter into engagements with the new government, had every claim in equity to a liberty of departing in peace, and of disposing of their property as they could: and if "liberty and property" are not "the rights of man," as they are called, upon what is their government founded? I answer, FORCE. But,

"—————Non fœdera legum
Ulla colunt, placidas aut jura tenentia mentes."

Force, therefore, and a violation of the rights of conscience and of property, are the first principles of French Civism. Principles that would immediately produce similar effects in this country, the instant it should (which God for ever forbid) have the unhappiness to fall under the influence of the friends of the French.

Of

Of such as desire fraternity with the French I would beg leave to ask what reliance we really could have upon the *assurances* of the National Convention, who have broken their *oaths*? all of them in a body? And though they lately promised us so smoothly, what right had we to expect a kinder fraternity than they have granted to Brussels and other places? And can we *really* believe they meant to treat us *very kindly* when their emissaries and assassins insulted us in our streets? Or that they would really prove sincere friends to us, who profess *some* religion, when they have destroyed their own and denied the existence of a God? I believe, indeed I am thoroughly convinced, that many of the friends of the French in this country *have* no religion: some of them have plainly told us so: and therefore they who are friends to liberty, while they retain a regard for their Religion, should be admonished to consider a little before they commit themselves to such guides. It is said in the fable, that when the wolf went to school, whatever letters he learned, he could make nothing of them but, *Lamb*. So these Atheistical Rights-men, (whatever else they pretend), superstition as it is called, *i. e.* Religion, is *that* against which they mean to direct their efforts at last. But we will suppose the *fabrick* of superstition levelled to the ground, as in France. Do all Atheists who think alike

as to Religion, think alike in Politics? Were not Cæsar and Cassius Atheists? And was not Cassius among the conspirators who murdered Cæsar? May not a casual concourse of Atoms some fortuitous hit, act against the Murderers of Louis, as well as the Murderers of Cæsar? Of the *latter* the number was SIXTY; and what happened to be their fate? Why, by certain *accidents, every one of them* died violent deaths, *within three years*. All were sentenced to die by the Senate: some perished by shipwreck, some in battle, some were their own executioners, and died by the same weapons which gave the mortal blow to *Cæsar, though not to Tyranny*: (Sueton. in Cæs. Plut. Brut.) And the evil of such savage proceedings is, that the example of them instead of terrifying Tyrants, serves but to excite greater suspicion, and cruelty, and to make them entrench themselves more formidably. It was the remark Sylla made when he was insulted upon laying down the Dictatorship, and which the Cæsars afterwards confirmed by Prætorian bands.

Indeed between a conspiracy and its desired effect, there are so many intermediate chances, (exclusive of civil laws and cordage, atoms hot or cold,) that a modern Metaphysician might, almost, be tempted to believe in many cases, that an invisible hand had intercepted the success.—
The fascinating manners and eloquence of
Count

Count Fiesco at Genoa, drew a number of conspirators into his scheme, of overturning the administration of the Dorias, which was too wise and good, as well as successful, to admit of any just complaint against it. Fiesco, noble, ambitious, and envious of the Dorias fame, rather chose to ruin his country, than see it flourish by the superior talents of another. The *fixed air*, the *phlogiston* was ready, the train prepared, nothing was wanting but explosion. It *happened* by a slip of Fiesco's foot he fell into the sea: it *happened* that he was in heavy armour, and it *happened* that he did not rise again; (though he will when he does not like it,) and thus it *happened*, that his project was defeated, and his country remained in peace.

These are *some* of the many arguments from the doctrine of Chance, against the assurance of success to French Civism, or in other words conspiracy and Rebellion. Perhaps too, *French * Metaphysics*, (that is to say Atheism and Sacrilege), may be found to have received as little succour from their favourite chances.

* DIDEROT, a French Atheist, is said to have boasted that he had calculated, upon the dice, the chances of forming such a system as our's, by the fortuitous concurrence of Atoms. TACQUET, the Arithmetician, on the contrary, found, by calculation, that there were many millions of chances against casting the twenty-four letters into their present Alphabetical order.

For,

For, if the course of atoms *hath happened* (and the same may be said of necessity) invariably to take a destructive line to the Robbers of Temples, and Blasphemers of Religion, from the earliest ages to the present, may it not be as well to get out of that line? Sennacherib was eminent in this line of French Metaphysics; and, Herodotus remarks, this admonition was written on his tomb, "Whoever considers my fate let him learn piety towards God." Antiochus Epiphanes also (I take the account upon Heathen authorities) was a metaphysician of the same stamp: and it *happened* that he perished in the most horrible manner that atoms ever occasioned; *not to mention* his horrors of *mind*, which must however, upon metaphysical principles, have proceeded from atoms too. No man could be more metaphysical than Julius Cæsar; for he regarded no distinction in *Nature*; and as for *Religion*, says Suetonius, it never stood in his way; (Chapter 59); for he plundered all the foreign temples of their gold. It *happened* however that certain horrors frequently tormented his mind, and the *fortuitous concurrence* of atoms that formed the dagger of Cassius, we have seen, took a direction fatal to him. It would be endless to recite instances. Yet, as France is in my mind, I cannot avoid recurring to the case of Brennus, the Gaul, a very celebrated Metaphysician, who in his attempt to

rob a Temple, (his principle was metaphysical, tho' the object of worship there was a false one), lost in one night by a most fatal concourse of atoms in the earth and air, nearly his whole army, with his life; and other *casualties*, immediately succeeding, left not a man alive of no less than an army of 145,000 men. I will add only the remark of a former King of France on this subject, the Emperor Charlemagne, who was neither *Priest* nor *Metaphysician*: † “I have known, says he, sacrilege
“to be succeeded by the discomfiture of Kings
“and their armies, the ruin of estates and
“Kingdoms.” It may be said this observation cannot now apply to France; I have only to say, wait a little, and see what will follow.

I am not so vain as to think these remarks will be regarded by any metaphysical friend of the French, who will be too deeply intrenched in atoms, or too fast bound by the chain of necessity, to see or to feel the force either of truth or nature; but if what is now said should happen to excite the atten-

† Novimus multa regna et reges eorum, proptere cecidisse; quia Ecclesias spoliaverunt, &c. &c. et pugnantibus dederunt, &c. Quiapropter nec fortes in bello, nec in fide stabiles—nec victores extiterunt—regna et regiones et quod pejus est, regna cœlestia perdiderunt, atque propriis hæreditatibus caruerunt, et hæcenus carent. Carolus Magnus in Capit. L. 7. C. 104. Cited by Hooker, Eccles. Pol. Book V.

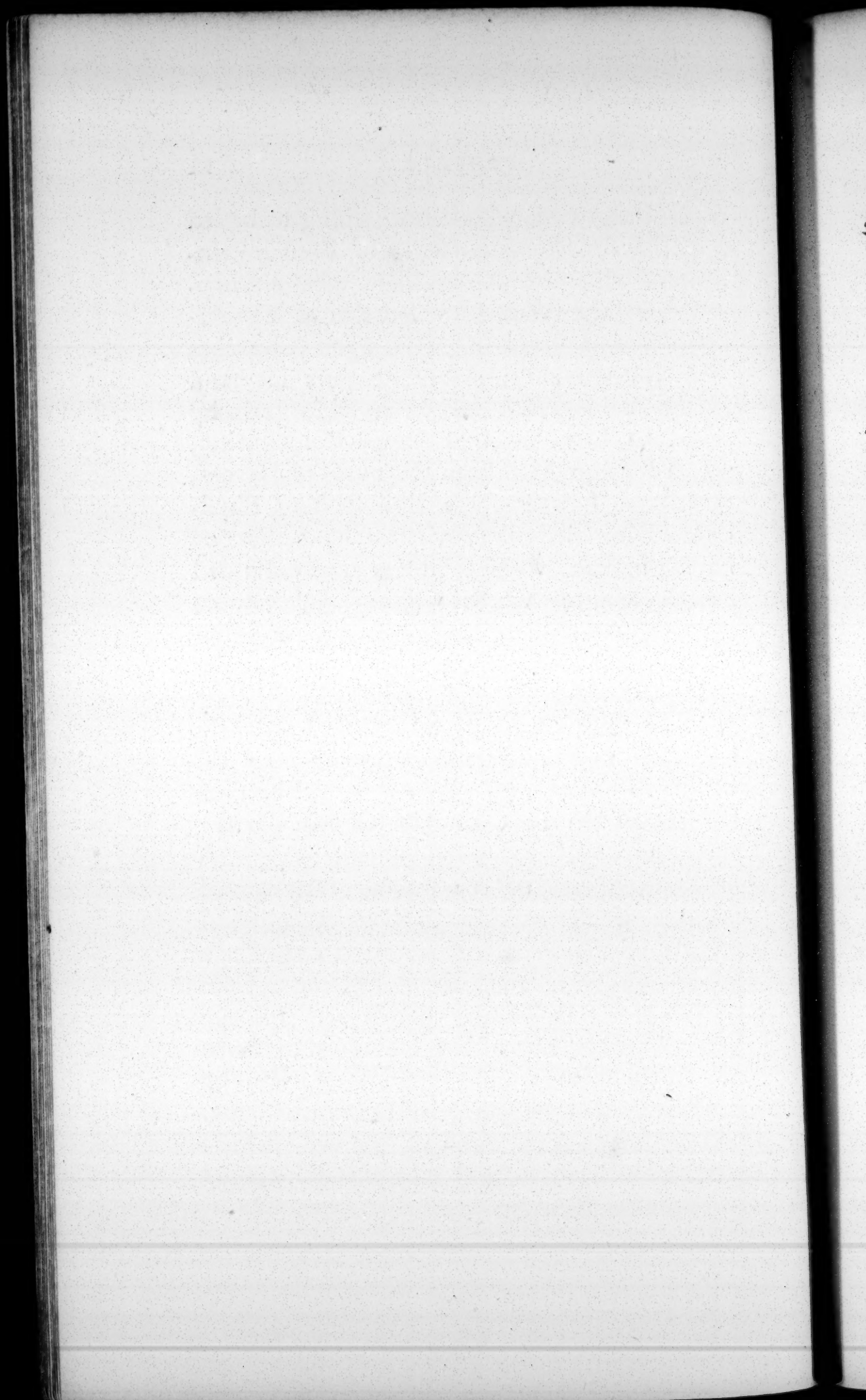
To the same purpose Virgil.

“Turno tempus erit magno cum optaverit emptum

“Intactum Pallanta; et cum spolia ista diemque

“Oderit.”

tion of any one, who is not willing to be led implicitly by the ignis fatuus of French Principles, I wish him to consider, what *has* happened in the World to Atheistical Revolutionists, and Experimenters upon Churches and Governments; before he puts his hand to the train which has been laid, grain by grain, to blow up that happy Constitution, which for ages hath been the nurse of Heroes, Statesmen, Lawyers, *real* Philosophers, Physicians, Divines; whose virtues have adorned human nature, whose abilities have extended human science, whose wisdom and labours have secured liberty and property, remedied the evils of human life, and been the means of saving the souls of those, who believed they had any souls to be saved. And I ardently pray that this Constitution may continue, till all the Kingdoms of the earth shall become the Kingdoms of God and of his Christ; when universal righteousness and happiness shall take place of the present crimes and miseries of the world. If the metaphysical friends of the French Revolution can offer a more magnificent and benevolent scheme than this, which Christianity holds out to our hopes, I will be one of the first to subscribe to it. In the mean while I hope every friend of the virtue and happiness of the human race, will join in detestation of French principles, and in a warm and animated defence of our own Constitution.



PSALM CXXii. *verse 6—9.*

Pray for the Peace of Jerusalem: they shall prosper that love thee. Peace be within thy Walls, and Plenteousness within thy Palaces. For my Brethren and Companions sake, I will now say Peace be within thee. Because of the House of the Lord our God, I will seek thy Good.

BY Peace, in the language of the Old Testament, is understood a state of * Prosperity and Happiness; what all men and all states desire, though they fail and mistake so frequently in the pursuit of it.

All men, as Members of a Civil Community, have an interest in the Prosperity of it; and all are bound by all lawful means to maintain and promote the Public welfare. Because Civil † Society is the appointment of God; and the la-

* Omnia Prospera.—Grotius.

† Romans xiii. 1.—1 Peter ii. 13, 15.

bours and endeavours of all its Members, in their several stations, are necessary to that end. There must be wisdom and virtue in the higher orders of the Community to connect and preserve, to defend and direct the several parts of the machine of Civil Society, while the patient labours and endeavours of the meanest are equally requisite, though subservient, to the prosperity of Nations.—The foundation of the noblest building, though laid deep and low, and composed of the coarsest materials, has yet the merit of sustaining the whole work; and is no less essential to it than the stateliest and most beautiful pillars. In the human body, the * “head,” though it contain the noblest organs of sensation and of thought, “cannot say to the foot I have
 “no need of thee; and if the foot shall
 “say because I am not the hand I am not
 “of the body, is it therefore not of the
 “body? If the whole body were an eye
 “where were the hearing, and if the whole
 “were hearing where were the smelling?
 “But God hath so tempered the body

* 1 Cor. xii. 15.

“together,

“ together, that there should be no schism
 “ in the body ; but that the Members
 “ should have the same care one for ano-
 “ ther. And whether one Member suffer,
 “ all the Members suffer with it, or one
 “ Member be honoured all the Members
 “ rejoice with it.” To this Constitution
 of Nature, St. Paul in his Epistle to the
 Corinthians compares the Constitution of
 the Christian Church in order to abate
 the equalizing temper of that People.—
 He shews that all have not, and cannot
 have, the same gifts in the Church, and
 that God himself is the author of that
 variety and inequality ; but that no op-
 position of interests is designed by this
 appointment ; on the contrary, the greater
 edification and harmony of all into one
 body. * “ Now ye,” says he, “ are the
 “ body of Christ and Members one of
 “ another.” We may therefore naturally
 expect the same analogy to hold in Civil
 Society, because God is the author ; and
 the end being similar also, *i. e.* the com-
 mon benefit of all its Members, they must
 all be united and harmonize together for

* 1 Cor. xii. 27.—Eph. vi. 25.

this purpose, or else there will be a schism in the Society, and separate interests will be set up against each other : whence injustice and fraud, civil wars and commotions ; and instead of the harmonizing of mankind for the production of the greatest possible good to each other, which was the gracious design of God in forming us with social affections, and in giving us Laws to this purpose in his revealed will, we see men tearing and devouring one another, overturning States and Kingdoms, those larger masses of Society, which are better suited for social intercourse than independent tribes ; we see them putting down all rule, all authority and power, the helm that guides collective bodies of men, and substituting that equality which reduces compacted bodies into unconnected particles ; an equality which, as it does not exist in nature, can never be made to subsist by art ; and destroys all that subordination and correspondency of parts, which results from the very nature and condition of man in this world, and is conformable to the

the * state of Heaven itself, as far as it is revealed to us : an equality which contrary to the ordinance of God makes the foot to be the head ; absurdly representing the People as *sovereign*, a relative term which implies the very subjection it excludes : an equality which sets the Members of Society loose from the strongest principles of social union, and dissolves the tie which connects all nature, *the will and the sovereignty of God*.

It is evident, therefore, that such a state of things can never be attended with Peace and Happiness : for Peace results from union and harmony, and Happiness is the complacency of the soul in such a state : but we destroy that state if we abandon the principles of social union above stated, the will and the law of God ; and the subordination and harmony of the several Members of a Civil Community, in the promotion not of a separate and distinct interest, but of the general Prosperity and Happiness of the whole.

* 1 Thes. iv. 16. Rom. viii. 38. Rev. xxii. 8.

We

We see in a neighbouring Kingdom, whose example seditious Writers recommend to us, these fundamental principles of Society subverted, by an impracticable scheme of Equality; and the principles of Atheism avowed and applauded in the Assembly of their Nation: although the greatest States, Heathen as well as Christian, ever considered Religion as the cement of Society, the spring of all their Prosperity and Grandeur, and have dated their decline from the disbelief and neglect of it: and the cause of Liberty in those States which have been so famed for it of old, declined in the same proportion with their regard for Religion, and when they became Atheists they became also Slaves. I might shew you if the time allowed it, from the History of modern Nations, that pure and undefiled Religion hath ever been the Parent of Liberty: in strict conformity to the declaration of our divine Master, *

“ if the Son shall make you free ye shall
 “ be free indeed”: and not only our Civil Liberty, but Learning, Commerce, and temporal Prosperity in Protestant Nations

* John viii. 32.

have been either so immediately derived from Religion or so intimately connected with it, that they may be considered as having the same common interests, and having risen would inevitably fall with it. In the glorious reign of Elizabeth, though the Kingdom was in danger by emissaries from abroad, secret and dangerous conspiracies of the Papists at home, yet the zealous endeavours of the People to defend the Protestant faith, and an earnest concern for the welfare of it, enabled the Queen to withstand and defeat, through the blessing of God, the most formidable Enemies abroad, the attempts of the Papists at home, and to assist Foreign Protestants in their struggle for Liberty temporal and spiritual. The invigorating principles derived from the Protestant faith, enabled our neighbours the *Dutch* out of a few fishing Towns to rise into a rich, flourishing, and free People. It was this regard for true Religion which destroyed the tyranny of the Church of Rome in the other Protestant Nations also, and put a stop to that deluge of wickedness that went hand in hand with

with it : and while the Protestant Nations maintain a due regard to the principles of the Reformation it will never be possible for any tyranny to oppress them, or any Foreign Power to conquer them.

If we look back to God's own People, the Jews, we shall find their independence and prosperity to have been uniformly and constantly for the space of fourteen hundred years, in proportion to their observance of the divine Laws ; till at length Atheism prevailing more and more among them, corrupted the principles of the People till they rejected Messiah, and considered the predictions of the Prophets, according to their own Historian, Josephus, but as jugglers tricks ; and the wickedness derived from their Atheism could only be equalled by the terrors attending their destruction.

Our neighbours, from whose wretchedness it becomes us to learn wisdom, appear to be proceeding in the same way.— With the most contemptuous violation of Religion and the sacred obligation of an
oath

oath they have murdered a pious, benevolent, and virtuous Prince ; their Sovereign by all the ancient Laws of their Realm, and by the very Constitution they had just formed and sworn to observe : they have overthrown their Church without any attempt to reform it, which is a proof that their quarrel was with Religion and not with the corruptions of it. They have seized upon the Estates of the Church, of the King, and of the Nobles, and of all whose consciences revolt at their wickedness ; and yet these wages of unrighteousness, neither supply the public necessities of their State nor the wants of their People, many of whom are now said to be in the situation of the Prodigal Son, desiring to be filled with the husks wherewith the swine are fed ; and one unhappy mother is reported to have sacrificed her own child to the demands of hunger. Not content to overthrow their own Religion and Government, they are now endeavouring to spread the same disorders in Foreign Countries. They have sent out their armies to plunder and enslave other States under the pretext of

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setting them free ; and are now meditating the same favour to us ; having previously sent into this Country, without any provocation on our part, from envy at our prosperity, emissaries, some as assassins to destroy, others as incendiaries to stir up sedition, to raise commotions, to excite tumults, to set on fire our towns ; and their diabolical schemes for this purpose which they had intended to carry into execution a little before Christmas, were providentially discovered in sufficient time to be frustrated : and when frustrated here, these incendiaries proceeded to *Ireland*, to do those works of the Devil in that kingdom which they had been previously doing in their own. Such are the fruits of Atheism and Rebellion ! And, incredible as it may seem, these wretches have been defended as to their principles, and encouraged in their diabolical measures, by subjects of this Country. Patriotic Associations to *defend* the Constitution have been reprobated by the very persons who have associated to *destroy* it : and the salutary measures necessary to preserve us from ruin have been condemned,

condemned, while the enemies of God and of good Government have been applauded. For so it is that men of kindred minds find out and assist one another; and as Religion and Humanity unite good men in the service of mankind, so will Atheism and Rebellion, (the same in principle though their objects differ), draw the wicked and the impious into a common union against Order, against Government, against the Peace, and Prosperity of Individuals and the Public.—Men of such principles the Scripture hath warned us to expect in the latter times of the Church; “Men without Natural Affection, Unholy, Truce Breakers, False Accusers, Incontinent, Fierce, Despisers of those that are good; Traitors, Heady, Highminded; despising Dominion, speaking evil of Dignities, Presumptuous, Self-willed, speaking great swelling words of Vanity, *and while they promise Liberty they themselves are the Servants of Corruption.*” 2 Timothy iii. Jude. For it may be expected, as a natural consequence, that they who have thrown off their allegiance to God and their King, and have violated their oaths,

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will, from the same licentious temper, break through every moral restraint; that they should dissolve the Marriage Vow, give the reins to every irregular propensity, and open the flood gates of Iniquity upon Mankind. Under such circumstances, Peace and Happiness, Comfort and Confidence, must be destroyed; the care of children, their education in virtuous principles, nay, even a regard to their temporal prosperity will be abandoned, as well as the support and respect due to aged and infirm parents; for *all* these evils must necessarily ensue from the uncertainty of parentage, and the licence of capricious * Divorce; divorce unrestrained by any principle divine or human. Hence in the distressful seasons of old age, sickness and misfortune, there will be found no sympathy from those relations of life, which the all-wise Author of Nature designed to be productive of social comfort, and for the exercise of pure and benevolent affections.

* Though, as Grotius observes, Divorce was *allowed* to the Jews, under an imperfect dispensation, to prevent greater evils, yet God did not approve what he was pleased for wise reasons to tolerate: "the Lord thy God hateth putting away." *Malachi* ii. 16.

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And thus the consolations of Religion, the sacred obligation of oaths, the highest security men can give to one another, the ties of marriage, the endearing relation of parent and child, which are all mutually and indissolubly connected with each other, and with private and public happiness, are inhumanly destroyed, sacrilegiously violated, by the horrid principles of these men ; principles which they are endeavouring *by force of arms to compel* the neighbouring nations to receive, under the name of FREEDOM ; a *freedom* indeed it is, but like that of the infernal regions, a freedom from the service of God, a freedom from the obligations of morality, from every sentiment of virtue, every thought that is elevated, refined, or pure. For the completion of their schemes of iniquity, they did not seem to think their own nation afforded them instruments sufficient, and therefore they invited men of the worst principles amongst ourselves, to afford the counsel of congenial minds. And after repeated perjuries, after the violation of the Constitution, if it may be so called, formed by themselves,

themselves, and the most marked contempt of Religion, Justice, and Humanity in the treatment of the Royal Family, and the murder of their King, to whom the national voice had given the title of well-beloved, as it was well deserved, they have condescended to receive from this country, and to admit into their legislative crew, a low and profligate wretch, detected in repeated acts of villainy, for which he was dismissed from his employment; and they like another miscreant people, having rejected their lawful Prince, chose to themselves a robber; “not this man but Barabbas.”

It is thus the Devil beguiles and befools those that serve him with all their hearts: for, by a just judgment, they are given up to his influence and delusion, who perversely depart from God and his Holy Laws; and that holds fatally true, which the Scripture hath declared, “Rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft:” delusive and destructive to wicked men: and what is written of Saul may be exemplified in the above instances; “when the Spirit of the Lord forsook Saul, an evil
“ Spirit

“ Spirit took possession of him.” For the mind that perversely refuses the good, and chuses the evil, by a judicial punishment, proceeds from bad to worse, till it is plunged into all the depths of Satan.

What duty and thanks therefore do we of this kingdom owe to Almighty God, under whose gracious Providence similar evils, that were flowing in upon us, were early checked ! Evils which very bad men among ourselves had been encouraging by their correspondence, and were preparing to assist in a more serious manner. Evermore praised be his Holy Name, who thus frustrateth the counsels of Atheists and Conspirators, and hath blessed the cause of Piety and good Government. These are in their *nature* inseparable, and the history of mankind will *prove* them to have been so in *fact*. Every attempt to disjoin them will fail in the end, and be marked with some vindictive scourge.— Therefore in the text, the Royal Psalmist, whose life was a series of Providences, and whose attentive eye traced the hand of Jehovah through all the fortunes of his country,

country, enjoins the duty of praying for its prosperity : pray for the peace of Jerusalem. For Jerusalem was not merely a political state : it was the noblest *religious establishment* the world ever beheld ; and the Royal Prophet had himself added greatly to the beauty of its order and the magnificence of its rites : it was an establishment, by which a very populous nation was connected by the common bonds of Religion, brotherly love, and equitable laws. It was “ a city compact together,” “ at unity with itself,” neither divided by religious schisms, nor distracted by political dissensions : “ whither the tribes go “ up unto the testimony of Israel,” the whole nation assembling at stated festivals, in the place of God’s more immediate presence with his people, “ to give thanks “ unto the name of the Lord.” “ For “ there are set the thrones of judgment, “ the thrones of the house of David.” You perceive all the great objects that can or ought to engage the mind, or fill the heart of man, are here united ; Religion, national union, and brotherly love. The Psalmist, viewing from the hill of Sion the

the numerous fraternal tribes as they went up to join in the public worship, prays for the continuance of this happy state, and promises prosperity to them that delight in it: he wishes well to his country, because in it were consolidated all the interests of his dearest friends; and he will seek to do good to it, because it is the seat of true Religion. For my brethren and companions sake I will now say peace be within the: because of the house of the Lord our God I will seek thy good.— These are the views, these the wishes of a real Patriot and friend to mankind. Not a word is there in all this of the Rights of men, of levelling and equality, of murders and assassinations, of dethroning * Kings

* *The Religion, the toleration, and the views of the National Convention of France and of those who embrace their principles will appear from the following extract, from Woodfall's Diary, February 12, 1793, of a "Speech of the Dutch patriots to the "National Convention," viz. "shall we mention our principles, Legislators? Liberty and equality are the Divinities which reason offers to mankind: they are your's, they are "our's, and will soon be those of the whole world. There is "but one object, one sentiment; the fall of Despotism, the "triumph of equality. We pronounce Anathema against what- "ever is contrary to this."*

It appears from hence, the liberty of chusing their form of government is not to be allowed to Nations independent of the National Convention, nor the liberty of having any Religion besides equality.

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and planting the tree of liberty, of defending what is called the cause of liberty in foreign nations against their will, and then levying heavy imposts to make them pay for it. Nothing is here said of promoting social union by flames, daggers, and commotions. This is French Religion, this is French fraternity and benevolence. Oh ! then let us turn away from it with horror : from such Religion and such fraternity, God of his infinite mercy and grace defend us ! Let us rather attend to the words and the voice of the sweet finger of Israel ; “ sweet as the breath of “ morn ” are his words, for they are the words of Heaven : Oh ! pray for the peace of Jerusalem, they shall prosper that love thee, peace be within thy walls and plentifulness within thy palaces ! For my brethren and companions sake I will say peace be within thee, yea because of the house of the Lord our God, I will seek to do thee good. Our Jerusalem *demands* and deserves our prayers : she looks to *you*, her dutiful and virtuous sons, to maintain her cause against those of her family who have gone over to the enemy :
“ I have

“ I have nourished and brought up children but they have rebelled against me ; ” “ yet undutiful sons shall inherit no blessing. ” Our Civil Constitution, the work of ages, the effect of many providences, the product of much wisdom, affords *all* the liberty a *reasonable man* can desire, and much *more* than a *good man* will at all times use : we derive *all* the protection from it that the imperfect state of human affairs can well give ; and imperfect the state of human affairs will be, as long as they are in the hands of imperfect men. If in any instance our state can be fairly amended, 'tis well : but nothing we can possibly gain is worth the hazard of disturbing the public peace ; exclusively of the crimes that ever attend public commotions : and it is necessary to admonish levellers, republicans, and atheists among us, that WE WILL NOT YIELD to their attempts, to subvert our happy Constitution without a struggle : they are in point of numbers a very inconsiderable part of the people, and therefore must not expect to dictate to the *nation at large* : *we* have the same right in

nature which they claim, and a much better in *law*, to maintain *our* principles ; we *will not* therefore receive the law at their mouths, and we *cannot trust their oaths* : WE WILL DEFEND THE CONSTITUTION which the wisdom and valour of our Ancestors bought so dearly, and we hope with success ; and *this* is the ground of our hope ; “ BECAUSE OF THE “ HOUSE OF THE LORD OUR GOD ; ” which they have *daringly* told us *they have been long undermining and expect soon to destroy*.*

As a perfect state of civil government can never be formed by men ; so, if it could be formed, it could neither be always perfectly administered by human governors †, nor would it always be sub-

* This threat nearly in the same language was urged so long ago as in Elizabeth's reign, as we learn from Hooker : we know what effect came from it afterwards : it is our own fault if we do not guard against a repetition of the same evils, by watchfulness, union, and vigour.

† The Athenians did not observe the very laws upon which their liberties were founded, neglecting to attend the Assemblies in which the public decrees were made. AGIS failed in the purest attempt to restore the laws among his countrymen at Sparta, upon which their existence as a free people depended.—The Cappadocians were offered liberty by the Romans, but refused it. The Athenians even converted the money raised to carry on a war into a fund for plays.

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mitted to by the governed. What had the Jews to complain of in the laws of Jehovah? And yet how innumerable were their rebellions? What have they who believe Christianity to complain of in the laws of Jesus? We acknowledge them to be holy, just, and good; yet are they obeyed by us? Laws, therefore, may be perfect, and yet the end of them not be attained, through the perverseness of the subjects of them.

“The evils of human government, said
 “an acknowledged friend to liberty, must
 “be endured like * the inclemency of sea-
 “sons, and other natural evils, for no
 “good results from frequent change.”—
 There have been † nations who have be-
 come slaves with the same form of go-
 vernment under which they had for ages
 existed free: for they voluntarily bartered
 away their liberties for a price †. With-
 out an internal principle corresponding to
 the outward form of freedom, freedom

* TACITUS—“ut nimios imbres et naturæ mala: nec usui crebræ mutationes.”

† Rome.

† Panem et Circenses; bread and public amusements.

will

will be lost upon all those occasions which allure or awe the passions: that internal principle is Religion, whose office it is to regulate them, and bring them into a just suberviency to rule and order. There is none other way under Heaven of maintaining or preserving freedom. A man of principle, said a Heathen writer ||, will as little yield to the commands of a tyrant as to the dictates of a lawless mob. When the Israelitish King, Saul, issued a bloody edict, his own people had too much sense of Religion to enforce it*. The best method therefore of reforming governments is to promote the influence of Religion upon every member of society, there will then be no instruments of oppression. Seek the truth, and "the truth shall make

|| Horace.

* Human laws cannot bind the conscience by any proper and inherent virtue of their own, their obligation is derived from Religion, because God alone is the Lord of conscience: and the power of life and death, so essential to Government, cannot be derived from any social compact; because men have no power over their own lives and therefore cannot transfer any such power to another; and because the power of life and death belongs to the author of life "in whose hands are the issues of "life". This shews the necessity of Religion to Government, and the iniquity and absurdity of those who attempt to govern without it.

"you

“you free;” nothing else ever can or will; though a pile of popular laws should be raised broader and higher than the Pyramids. All that is urged now by the enemies of our Church and State, was urged, and what is more, was tried in the last century; and after Republicans and Levellers had overturned both the Church and the Monarchy, together with the morals and happiness of the nation, affairs came at last, as they generally do in such cases, into the hands of a Dictator: all ranks of men were soon sick of the change, and were glad to revert to the old form of government, which with many improvements hath come down to us, and under which this country hath attained to a degree of prosperity unexampled in our own history, and without parallel in the other nations of Europe.

And this brings me to the consideration of our duty respecting our Jerusalem, *i. e.* the Church of God established in these realms. We have a Church founded on the Apostles and Prophets, “Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone:” we profess

profess and teach in the Church of England, what we not only shew to be clearly contained in the Scriptures, but illustrated and confirmed by the liturgies and doctrine of the first, the best, and purest ages, before those corruptions arose in the Church of Rome, which afterwards spread themselves into these western Churches; though not without exception, because the Vallenfes and Albigenfes retained the faith pure and unadulterated, from whom those doctrines took their rise which afterwards produced the Reformation in the Protestant states of Europe. Our Reformers, Cranmer, Ridley, and other eminent persons at home, with the assistance of foreign Protestant, and even some Presbyterian Divines abroad, with great care and ability, (and they were fully competent in learning and theological knowledge), compiled our liturgy and articles, upon which are formed the Service and Doctrines of our Church. Forms of prayer, * creeds and confessions of faith

* Socinians and Arians object to our use of Creeds, drawn up by fallible men. The former have them, though they are (says Dr. Horne from Mosheim) much divided in their opinions: the latter

faith were of early use in the Church of Christ, are used still in other Reformed Churches, besides our own: and though confessions of faith were, originally, very short, they were necessarily enlarged in after-times, in order to distinguish the pure and genuine faith of the Church, from the heresies that were continually

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latter drew up no less than 17 in 40 years. As to the *incomprehensible* mysteries they objected to in our's, *what mystery is not so?* With respect to mysteries, NATURE is full of them: when we have solved these, which are *first* in order, then we may demand an explication of those in Revealed Religion. Every prayer, and every sermon, drawn up by fallible men is the creed and confession of him who forms it, and of them that use it, whether in or out of the Church of England. No one can reasonably object to *our* use of confessions of faith if *we* think it right to use them. Every man among us is, and ought to be, perfectly at liberty to secede from us: and when the body of those who dissent from, what is called, the orthodox faith, shall agree among themselves, it will *then* be time enough for them to dictate to us. *In* the mean-while, it is a matter of duty, if we believe the Scripture, that we "endeavour to Keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." To Reformers of a certain description, Bishop Taylor now speaks; "PREACH OFTEN, PRAY CONTINUALLY."—Sermon preached to the Bishops, in Dublin.—Upon the principles of toleration I beg to ask, *why* the Orthodox have not the same right to maintain their confessions of faith with their opponents have? who certainly do not seem disposed to allow us any title to do so. A comprehension has been attempted by several of our Church Governors at different times, both with the Dissenters and the Gallican Church; but it was found impracticable to accomplish such a scheme. The best method under such circumstances is to follow the Apostle's rule: "forbearing one another in love." *Ephes. iv. 2.*

starting up in it. And we now possess that form of sound doctrine, which is able to save our souls. Our venerable Reformers sealed with their blood their sincere belief of those truths they have delivered down to us. And though the Scripture is the sole rule of our faith, yet it is a satisfaction to consider that the doctrines derived from it by our Church, have been defended and illustrated, ever since the Reformation, by the ablest and the best men, as well of the Laity as Clergy, which this nation hath produced within that period: and I may further add, that the Protestant Churches abroad approve our principles and doctrines next their own; and the most eminent among the *independent* and *dissenting* divines * of the last and present century have maintained, as strenuously as we do, all the great and fundamental doctrines of the the Church of England, the Atonement, Sanctification, and the Tri-unity. This faith, as it hath been assailed by various heresies from the Apostles time to our own, so will it be till the completion of the present dispensation: according to our Saviour's

* Owen, Watts, Doddridge, Jennings, &c.

Saviour's prophetic parable of the wheat and the tares, or rather cockle a fallacious representative of the true wheat; as it is well interpreted according to the analogy of the Parable, by the best antient and modern Commentators*. But it is our duty, against Atheism, Infidelity, and Herefy to "contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the Saints." God we are assured will bless his Church; "they shall prosper that love thee." Cyrus, Alexander, Constantine, its signal protectors and patrons, according to the Divine promise, (Kings shall be thy nursing Fathers), amply experienced the temporal effect of this blessing. And in the history of our own state, the most glorious Princes have been the Patrons and Defenders of the Church of God, Alfred, Elizabeth, and William; and the prosperity of the two latter was intimately connected with the support of the Protestant faith.

In repeated deliverances of our Church and State, we trace, as repeatedly, the gracious hand of the Almighty. Our

* Chrysostom, Grotius.

Lord hath assured us that the gates ‡ of Hell, *i. e.* its power and policy, shall never prevail against his Church: it may be “chastised but shall never be given over unto death.” No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper, saith God, by the prophet *Isaiah* *: and it is remarkable, that a celebrated writer of the Church of Rome, without intending it, hath shewn the verification of this promise, as it were, in the very words of the Prophet: for, says he, “It hath || been found that arms taken up against the Protestant Churches, have never prospered.”—This then, as the Prophet speaks, is the heritage of the Servants of the Lord; this is the heritage which ye are called upon by honour, conscience, and duty, whole and undefiled, as ye have received it from your fathers, to transmit to your posterity.——There is the more need, Christians, at this time, to

‡ The *gate* way was antiently the seat of judicature, and the place of strength of the city, whence it comes to denote policy and power. Bishop *LOWTH*.

* *Isaiah* 54.

’ || *Cœpta arma adversus Protestantés malè semper cessisse.*—*THUANUS* in the dedication of his History.

bring

bring these promises to your recollection; when our antient enemies, the French, the common disturbers of Europe, under the most false and shameless pretext of diffusing the blessings of liberty, have come abroad with vast armies endeavouring to trample upon the liberties of foreign nations, and the necks of foreign Kings, after the barbarous murder of their own; to spread by force of arms their detestable Atheism, and to substitute, in the place of legal government, the most ferocious tyranny that hath cursed mankind since the Saracen conquest. After having alledged, inconsistently enough, oppression as their apology for subverting their old form of government, besides innumerable other murders, without previous trial or defence, besides banishment, confiscation, and savage vengeance inflicted even on innocent and aged women, in two days did these miscreants destroy in the prisons, without a hearing, no less than eight thousand persons, (many of them learned and noble), for the sole crime of fearing God and honouring their King. As we are threatened with all the evils

evils they have spread in their progress, by these enemies of God, of Religion, and Humanity, our Governors have wisely resolved to prepare for a vigorous defence of our religion and laws, by an armed force; and to commence an active war, rather than suffer all that is dear to us to be torn from our bosoms, and trampled under foot: and this is the more necessary, because the encouragement given at home to these miscreants, by some treacherous persons among ourselves, will by this measure be more successfully defeated: and, as upon the most righteous principles, our appeal is made to THE LORD OF HOSTS, may this answer descend from above, in favour of our King and his righteous cause; * “as for his enemies, I shall cloathe them with shame, but upon himself shall his Crown flourish.”——We have the cause of God, of religion, of justice, and humanity on our side: and, if we engage at all, it will be for our brethren and companions sake, ‘and for the house of our God.’ In such a cause, to bear the pub-

* Psalm cxxxii. 19.

lic burdens cheerfully, to contend manfully, is virtue, is patriotifm, is religion ; to contend upon thefe principles will be our happinefs and glory. Let us animate ourfelves with this juft perfuafion, and defend our Church and State as our forefathers have nobly done and prospered. For the Lord of Hofts is with us, the God of Jacob is our Refuge.

...humble cheerfully, to content man-
...is a true, is faithful, is religious;
...content upon these principles will be
...happiness and glory. Let us rejoice
...with the just portion, and
...our Church and State as our
...have holy men and pure
...of the Lord with us, the God
...is our King.

